1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

widespread throughout the Islamic world. However there is more to it than that—indeed it comes close to the heart of the Kanuri way of looking at things. Kanuri social life is a constant search for fruitful social contacts in which one man is the superior and the other a subordinate to him. Between the sexes, the culture defines women as inferior in rank to men. Thus the place universally available to all men for the achievement of subordinates is the family and the household, and the ideal female subordinate is a young girl, one who has not yet been divorced, that is rejected her subordination to her husband, and one whom the husband can train to become properly obedient to his own personal wishes. Thus marriage to a previously unmarried girl symbolizes what every man wants, not sexually, but socially; unblemished and complete obedience from docile subordinates who receive material benefits in return for subordination. Seen in this light the marriage with young girls then becomes more understandable—it represents some of the most profoundly important values in the society.

Most Kanuri do not, however, marry girls who have never been married before. Generally they marry a *zower*—or divorced woman. This is carried out with much less ceremony than the virgin marriage. Men may see a divorced woman they like and simply send a friend who asks if she would like to marry. Or the men may begin an affair with her, give her market money once a week just as he would a wife, and then during this time decide whether or not he and this woman should proceed towards a marriage. Such liaisons are considered formally to be illegal extramarital relations, but in everyday life they are tolerated as a form of courtship. Harsh approbation is directed toward sexual relations by a man with another man's wife. Thus although a very few men claim to remain chaste in their relations with a divorced woman, most men agree that there is nothing seriously the matter with a discreet affair with such a person.

As Muslims the Kanuri also think of marriage as a relationship involving more or less *purdah*, or wifely confinement within the household. Generally, it is made quite clear before the marriage begins just how much constraint the husband expects. And for the most part such restrictions are positively related to the class and status of the husband. Thus the higher the status of the husband, the greater the probability of almost total confinement on the part of the wife. Certainly all Kanuri men would like their wives to remain inside the compound, however very few can afford to insist. To do so necessitates that there must be a well inside the compound, enough wealth so that the husband does not require the wife's work in the fields, and enough help so that he can send a male servant or client along with her on the few occasions when it becomes absolutely necessary for her to go out.

The Kanuri themselves categorize a few other forms of marriage on the basis of the relations already existing between the partners, or being set up by the marriage. They speak of cousin marriage, marriage with a religious practitioner, marriage with a wealthy or powerful person (a marriage of pleasure) as varieties of unions. They also mention the possibility of the sororate (marriage with a person called sister by one's dead wife) and the levirate (marriage by the younger brother of his dead brother's wife or wives). These latter are quite rare, and I have only recorded one case of the levirate in the last ten years, and none of the sororate. Kanuri think marriage with wife's sister, or person she calls sister while she is still

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

often people use old women for such purposes. He was anxious about the gift and so went to an expert on medicines who gave him a couple of special kola nuts whose magical love potion power would direct the woman to find him irresistible. His confidence thus buoyed up, he visited her himself and they had a short affair. He tasted her cooking, observed her behavior, and after two weeks sent a friend to the older brother to arrange for the marriage payments. Three weeks later, after the marriage was proposed to the *luwali*, (in this case her older brother), the couple were married. Modu was delighted and later assured me that for most of the entire six months they remained married he was quite happy. In the end they quarreled bitterly because his wife was out of the house visiting much too often for him not to be suspicious of her fidelity. Finally he simply told her to pack her things and leave his house.

The case illustrates the ease with which Kanuri men and women moved in and out of marriage—a perfectly normal pattern in Bornu. Bornu is a land where divorces are very common, and a marriage break-up is never the social and psychological catastrophy it can easily be in the west. To understand why we must look more closely at Kanuri married life.

Married Life

By comparison with western society, Kanuri husbands are at home a great deal. The home is the center of activities where men take their leisure, visit their friends, and receive visitors all day long. If at all possible they carry out their occupational activities in the household making it the central location for their daily work. Such constant contact of husband and wife in the household is rather rare in western society. Paradoxically however, husbands and wives are far less intimate and friendly than they are in the west. In their daily lives, women cook, nurse young children, bring water for the household if there is no well, help in the fields, grow garden crops and maize in the back of the compound, prepare cooked and uncooked foods, make pots, trade, and visit one another to help with the preparation of ceremonies as well as for companionship and hairdressing. Men clear the fields and plant crops, work at a large number of crafts including modern ones such as truck driving or using Singer sewing machines; they also engage in religious activities as specialists, and carry out specialized political, judicial and medical roles.

In upper class families, women are in *purdah* (restricted to the household) and live at the back of the compound furthest away from its entrance. They leave the compound only on rare occasions and even then they must seek the permission of their husbands well in advance. They are usually accompanied on such excursions by servants who may escort the upper class lady half way across the emirate to visit her own family for a ceremony at which her presence is required. On the other hand, peasant women must go to the well at least twice a day for water, and in some villages this means a walk of several miles. These women work on the farm plots of the various members of the household during the short growing season and sell cooked foods. Ordinary women use the occasions away from their husband's households to meet and talk freely with other women, and sometimes, of course, with other men.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

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The Life Cycle: From Birth to Death in Kanuri Society

THE HISTORY of Kanuri society, its family and household organization, and the other groupings described later in this book that make it into a system, are all activated and made real by the people who spend their lives in Bornu. Kanuri society, indeed any society, can be described by giving the major details of its organized social life. However, such a description uses as its units the roles and groups that make up each organization. The units (roles and groups) are separate parts of the system, but it is important to remember that roles and groups are stage settings for the behavior of real people who are born, grow up, love, hate, get married, grow old and die. Some are more successful, some less so, but the way in which they live a Kanuri life from beginning to end is what produces the energy, the continuity, and the change within the structure of their society.

Like people everywhere the Kanuri see a pattern in the life span of individuals. This is thought of as a series of stages or grades determined fundamentally by age and sex. Whether he or she be rich or poor, peasant, slave, or of royal blood these stages still apply and mark off a lifetime. Like age grades in all societies there is a rough correlation at each stage with that of physiological growth, maturation and decline. However, the specific factors of local geography and the adaptation to it, as well as their social complexity and culture history, have molded the grades into the specific set of life stages that can be called Kanuri. In the future, the forces of modernism will add their weight to this stream and produce changes in this traditional cycle. For the present, however, I want to present a picture of a Kanuri lifetime, as my informants report it and as I have observed it in Bornu, starting with gestation and ending with the death of an individual.

Gestation

Kanuri men and women almost universally claim that having children is desirable for married couples, although charms that both promote and prevent pregnancy can be obtained locally from specialists. The culture norms on this point are

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

quite explicit, and married couples are supposed to want children. Those few women who admitted to me, confidentially, not wanting children had very high divorce records, while all others conformed to expectations when asked specifically concerning their desire for offspring.

Traditionally the Kanuri believe that conception results from simultaneous orgasm during sexual intercourse. This information I got from older men who do not, however, know in any detail when or how often such an event actually takes place. Instead they reason that it has occurred when their wife reports a pregnancy. When a woman is over one month late in a menstrual cycle (a few said forty-five days) conception is suspected, and she begins to buy charms on the market to safeguard a normal gestation. During this initial period the husband and wife, ideally at least, should not speak of the pregnancy to anyone until at least the second menstrual period has been missed, and then only to their very close friends and relatives. Such talk, indeed any excess conversation about the pregnancy, is believed to be dangerous to the course and development of a normal pregnancy. Even during the later stages just before birth only very cryptic references are made by the parents when they refer to the coming event. Pregnancy, like a number of other occasions in one's lifetime, is considered a very fragile time, a time when an individual is vulnerable to maliciousness from humans or spirits. Because it is difficult to know about such maliciousness, until after its effects are felt, it is better to avoid mentioning the susceptible circumstances.

Sexual intercourse is continued throughout pregnancy since the Kanuri believe that such activity makes for an easier labor at birth by keeping the passage open and providing fluids for the child and the mother.

Although the Kanuri recognize the pregnancy period of nine months, the woman continues her normal work until the lying-in period is signaled by labor. On the other hand exceptions to the nine-month period occur, and some women claim to have been pregnant for years although no outward sign is visible. This latter condition is referred to as *bənji*, that is to say an embryo that will not come out of the womb. A woman may miss a menstrual cycle once and then become convinced that she has conceived. If her conviction holds she may, after menstruating again, diagnose the condition as a *bənji*. Missing a menstrual period, however, is not absolutely necessary for the diagnosis. Women who spoke of having *bənji* felt that any woman could have one, but they also agreed that in their experience the woman was usually older and either had not given birth for a long time or had had a completely infertile marriage history. Certainly many Kanuri women seem to be barren, and this cultural belief must help to assuage the disappointment of a hopeful but sterile woman. It may also serve to alleviate the loss of womanly role for an older woman who sees herself being replaced in her reproductive functions by her husband's younger wives.

Birth

When the woman is about to give birth, she is assisted by her own mother if she is in the vicinity, or her mother-in-law if she is living with her husband's family, and sometimes by a specialist in midwifery. There are stories told about

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

must ask his permission to do anything. To be seen speaking to another man is grounds for divorce. On the other hand a divorced woman is free. She comes and goes as she pleases and speaks to whoever she pleases quite freely. Some women quite frankly remark that they prefer this status to that of marriage while others just as strongly remark that they would like to get a husband.

In summary, maturity is a time of achievement for men in which they become full-fledged members of their community. They marry, try to raise families, and become heads of successful and productive households. Women try to marry successfully and hopefully to have children. However, as I have pointed out elsewhere, tensions caused by the demands of subordination in their married role produce strains and rebelliousness that very often leads to the break-up of marriage.[3] In the final analysis the culture is androcentric; there are many means by which men can become successful—through their occupation, their associations with neighbors, relatives, friends, and important men, and through membership and finally headship of a household. In spite of a turnover in wives associated with the high amount of divorce, the household itself is a stable unit, although its personnel is not. On the other hand, it is the rare Kanuri woman who can achieve a successful adulthood. Many women are barren or have had children who have not survived. Very few women remain married to the same men all their lives and most have had one or more extended periods of being divorced and looking for a husband. By centering on men and emphasizing their needs and wishes, Kanuri culture has produced a strain on women that is a fertile field for changes when modernization produces the possibility of new goals for women and new means for achieving them.

Old Age

Old age is signalled in both sexes by the whitening of body hair even though other body characteristics may remain strong and healthy. For both old men and women this last period in life means that many of the obligations and responsibilities of adult life are slowly relinquished, although men generally feel that they belong to the adult roles much longer than women. As heads of households and office holders in governmental positions, men wield powers in a number of spheres and give these up slowly and reluctantly as old age drains away their energy and efficiency. Ideally in Kanuri culture a man should reach the golden years of his life in his old age. If all goes well he receives much respect; his work is carried on by descendants, and his position as a household head may have grown to the point where he is the senior authority among a group of households organized along the lines of a patrilocal extended family with clients, sons, brothers, and their wives and families looking to him for leadership. When he is very old and becoming progressively infirm, he lets many of these duties pass to mature members of the group. Even then they always consult him on decisions and pay heed to his wishes.

The reality in Kanuri society is often far from the ideal although the ideal is a very widely agreed upon goal. To obtain this most desirable position in old age a

[3] See Ronald Cohen, "Marriage instability among the Kanuri of Northern Nigeria," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 63, 1231–1249.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

man must have had a very successful life and belong to the upper ranks of society where power and wealth give him the opportunity to build up the necessary following during his lifetime. Peasants can achieve the ideal if they have through accident or a successful career been able to build up political and economic resources that enable them to maintain a growing compound. For those men who cannot obtain a position of semi-independent leadership in their old age, there is also the possibility of membership in someone else's organization. In this way a man can look forward to a secure position even though his own household as part of it is a very small one. For many other men old age brings neither leadership nor successful subordination. A son, friend, or neighbor may regularly help with the farm plot, or if less successful the man and perhaps an aging wife live alone in a small compound in their village. He is given some general respect as an older person. If he lives in the same community as his children there may be young grandchildren constantly around, and whether they live in the same community or not he may be fostering one of more grandchildren in his compound. Whatever the alternative, and unlike our own society, old age even at its poorest provides an accepted and respected place for old men.

Many old women after a number of divorces or the death of a husband with whom they have lived for many years do not or cannot marry again. This does not seem to be the case nearly so often for the men. If the woman has a son, he is expected to keep her in his compound which may have been the compound of her husband. If she has no son, she may stay in or near the compound of some other relative, including an ex-husband whom she refers to by using the kin term applied to "brother."[4] I have seen a few old women living alone in the compound of their dead husbands although, like old men, most of these seemed in constant touch with young children. Whether or not she is being supported economically by her relatives, any old woman in the lower ranks of society has an accepted role as a small retail seller who sits daily in front of the compound or small market stalls around the town, or near a well, selling a few ground-nuts, sundries, cooked food, or tobacco flowers for staining the teeth of women. Four old women in Magumeri, one of whom lived completely alone, had saved up money to buy themselves a native well, and these four supported themselves on a fairly steady income from the sale of the water. Such practices are not suddenly started; a woman raises extra cash throughout her entire life by petty trade or the sale of cooked foods and with the onset of old age she merely extends these activities into a full-time occupation.

Women from higher ranking households remain in the compounds of their sons or relatives. Very likely they have been secluded as young married women and this continues in their old age. The widow of a high-ranking man is on occasion supported in his compound by the heir to the household. However, if the new household head has his own aging mother alive, then it is more common for the widow to leave her dead husband's household and return to her own kin since her co-wife is now taking over the position of mother of the head of the household. Many of these upper class women have more capital than their lower class counterparts. This started with their dowry and may have been increased through inheritance and trade since the time of their youth. Such trade is carried

[4] The Kanuri use a single kin term to refer to brother, sister, cousins of any kind, and half brothers and sisters, although each of these can be distinguished if need be.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

cattle have not broken into and eaten the produce, very little work is required in cultivating crops. Thus work on crop production is concentrated into less than six months leaving the rest of the year free for other activities.

Although almost all Kanuri households obtain some food and some cash from their farm plots, the amount of farming varies from person to person, from village to village, and even for the same person from season to season. In the city, many people have dropped farming and manage to earn enough cash income to furnish their needs from the market. In the villages some households, usually in areas of good soil and water supply, produce agricultural surpluses, while in other areas the farm work provides only part of the household needs. Again some farmers tend to produce fairly similar amounts of grain crops per year while others fluctuate, so that they produce practically nothing some years and large bounties a few years later. Increased prices of ground-nuts and guinea corn stimulate greater household farming activities while trade and other nonfarming activities may interfere with a man's farming. Sickness in the compound as well as blight and soil depletion tend to decrease agricultural proceeds, and finally in the rural areas increase or decrease in household size, especially in the number of wives, all tend to affect the fluctuation of crop proceeds from one household to another or within the same household over time. People who report themselves to be primarily farmers produce more than those who report themselves to be craftsmen, although for the Magumeri area the difference, when measured, does not seem to be very great. On the other hand, traders and political and religious specialists seem to produce approximately one quarter to one third as much on their farms as other people, and many in this category do not farm at all.

The importance of wives has already been noted. The number of wives available to any cultivator, as well as the number of his male subordinates in the household, is the major factor affecting crop production. The high divorce rate makes this primary source of labor somewhat unpredictable for each farmer. On the other hand it also helps to stabilize marriage. Thus the more men depend upon help from their wives the less likely they are to divorce them, although their efforts in this direction are never completely successful and the insecurity of farm help is always there. The insecurity can be alleviated by using sons or clients or laborers, all of whom require payment in some way for their help. All rural Kanuri at times help their neighbors, their relatives, or friends to farm and often a group of such men get together to help one another in a cooperative work gang and then reciprocate by helping each other in turn. Thus although many Kanuri do move around in Bornu, farming favors the most stable who can build up social relations in one place that can be utilized in the form of labor to offset the possible insecurity caused by the ever-present high divorce rate.

To make the situation more complicated many Kanuri are not rooted in the land emotionally. It is part of both the traditional and contemporary Kanuri conception of getting ahead in the world that personal advancement is not to be found in farming. Achievement in Bornu is seen as stemming out of profitable social relationships and more recently western schooling. If it is judged to be personally profitable for an individual to leave his farm work in order to become someone's client, there is little hesitation. Men asked me to take them on as clients and give them some money for trading purposes. They offered to travel anywhere in Bornu

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

and then bring me the profits whether or not they had crops growing and whether or not they had labor to carry on the cultivation. If I asked them what would happen to their farm they showed little concern and said merely that they farm because they can do nothing else. The implication is that if they had anything better to do they would stop farming immediately.

Land for agriculture is not scarce in Bornu and all settlements except the capital city have plenty of free or unused land within their boundaries. Adjacent to a Kanuri village or hamlet are the farm plots of long-term members of the settlement and their descendants who have inherited these "house-farms" as they are called in Kanuri because they represent land attached to households. These plots are always bounded and often fertilized by the village sheep and goats. In Magumeri house-farms extend in a circle around the village for a radius of about three quarters of a mile. Outside this circle are isolated farm plots dotted here and there and free land as well as pasture land. Ownership is obtained by clearing such land after having registered this intent with the village head, by inheriting a plot, or by having been given it by the previous owner. The Kanuri see house-farm land as symbolizing long-term and stable association with a village or city, while bush farms, although everyone has a few such plots, mean transience or newness because the household head who farms only these does not yet have any farm plots identified with his compound so that people can say, "There is Modu's house, his house-farms are in such-and-such a spot." Instead they say, "That is Modu, he has moved into so-and-so's house or built a house near so-and-so, and has cleared a few new farm plots a mile or two to the south of town."

An interesting and yet difficult question is that of land ownership. The way in which land is owned can be seen in those practices associated with acquisition and transfer. Anyone can clear new land or land that has been unclaimed for many years. He should report this to his local political leader whose permission is always granted if there are no known claims on the property. Again a man may go to the local political leader and ask where he can [redacted] he is then directed to available plots on the advice of the leader. Or land [redacted] be inherited, usually in the male line, or acquired as a gift from a friend, or it can even be sold. Political leaders sometimes try to exert themselves in being party to all land transfers so that their permission becomes part of the transaction, and they feel they have a legitimate right to do so when the previous owner has used the land for a short period. The difficulty here is that there is no definite rule to tell the Kanuri how long a man should use a piece of land during his own lifetime before he has a total right to transfer it to anyone else. On the other hand, they believe that once land has been inherited it is the property of the family, and decisions about its use and transfer are primarily in the hands of the owners. In practice the Kanuri always hold land because they are using it, having cleared it, inherited it, or come to some agreement over it with the previous owner. In the latter case this could mean anything from an outright sale, practiced more near the larger cities, to an agreement over it with the user who gives the previous owner some percentage of the crop. The system works well when household heads as land owners and users have good working relations with their local political leaders. If this is not the case, then political leaders often insist on helping to make decisions about the land and its ultimate transfer whether it has been held for a short time or a much longer one. I have seen or

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[For information on adherence to Kanuri norms and institutionalized practices, see category 116, pp. 249-327.]

175 of the empire. In the latter part of the fifteenth century (ca. 1470) the empire was consolidated and the city of Birni Ngazargamu was founded on the River Yobe. It remained the capital of the empire of Bornu for 350 years. In 1507 the former capital of Birni Njimi was recaptured and Kanem became a province of [172] Bornu. The site of Birni Ngazargamu is twenty-five miles from the present town of Geidam, and its extensive ruins can be seen today.

During the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth century, the empire reached its zenith. Its boundaries stretched to Fezzan in the north, beyond Kawar and Tibesti, to the Nile in an easterly direction, and to Dikwa and 175 the districts south of Lake Chad. Many minor states paid 177 [248] tribute to Bornu. At that time Bornu was in close contact with [487] both Egypt and Tripoli. Controlling the southern terminus of the shortest trans-Saharan caravan route, which ran from Tripoli through the Fezzan and the oasis of Bilma to Lake Chad and Birni Ngazargamu, the empire of Bornu was in regular contact with the [411] Mediterranean area in earliest times. Guns were introduced into Bornu from Tripoli at the end of the sixteenth century [779] and became a factor in the expansion of the empire. Via these established trade contacts, Islam came to Bornu in the eleventh [183] century. With the coming of Islam came also the tradition of study and learning which has persisted as a part of Kanuri culture.

175 567 [439] The institution of slavery had always been a part of this

439 of advancing credit to middlemen who do the actual buying of the
473 nuts and hides. The entire peanut crop of an area is bought al-
442 most before it is planted. Textiles, manufactured in Japan or
[852] India, are the main items imported into the region and bought by the Kanuri. Additional items imported in quantity are enamelware bowls and dishes, salt, sugar, perfume, and numerous small items of Western manufacture. For those who can afford them, the trading companies sell battery-powered radios, sewing machines, bicycles, etc.

438 Trade, both external and internal, is a vital part of
439 Kanuri economy. Traders are numerous and often very wealthy.
452 Money is lent at interest, though this is forbidden by the Koran.
437 Goods are advanced on credit by European traders, and by Kanuri
441 traders as well. A Kanuri trader who has credit with a trading
[183] company will take 500 pounds' worth of cotton cloth, promising
[443] to pay off the amount in a month. He distributes the goods to ten men who work for him, or, more properly, are attached to him. They each take 50 pounds' worth of cloth to small markets in the bush. There they try to sell the goods directly or they may give the goods on credit to a local merchant who sells them. Slowly the cash returns to the original middleman, and ultimately to the original trading company, which then permits the middleman to take another batch of goods on credit. Conversely, a trading company may advance 500 pounds in cash to a middleman who promises to bring, in one month's time, 500 pounds' worth of peanuts. He distributes the cash to his people who then

586 where a former spouse might attack his wife's new lover with a
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152 knife.

3. Residence.

591 It is usually stated that after marriage, a boy's father
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369 builds his house for him if he is able to, and he builds his
183 son's house close to his own. This is subject to a number of qualifications, the foremost being the all-pervading difference between rural and urban Kanuri culture. In the rural villages the ideal is frequently realized, and the son marries and lives
606 not far from the house of his mother and father. His wives then prepare meals for their mother- and father-in-law, as well as for their husband. The old mother continues to cook for her husband, but her daughter-in-law sends her additional food as well. However, if there is no plot of land on which to build a house adjacent to his father's house, the son's house may be built any place else. If the boy's father is dead, his mother may build the house for him, or he may work and earn money with which he may build his own house. If the boy's father is a poor man and has no money for building his son's house, his son may leave the village, marry elsewhere, and build his house in another village or another town. If he marries a girl whose father is a rich man, the father-in-law may build a house for his daughter and her husband, though it is much more common for the father of the boy to build the house. If a man with a rich farm has several daughters and no sons, his sons-in-law may come to live near his house and help him farm.

000 near his house and help him farm.

In the towns, the situation is much more fluid, and wealth
591 differences are more pronounced. Consequently there is consid-
369 erable mobility and a greater tendency for sons to strike out
166 on their own. In addition, there is a constant stream of young-
• 183 er people moving from the villages to the towns and cities, and from one town to another. These conditions, taken together with the relaxed attitude which the Kanuri hold toward a standard rule of residence (that is, that ideally sons should live close to their fathers, though other forms are equally acceptable), would lead one to conclude that post-marital residence among the Kanuri exhibits a tendency towards initial patrilocal residence, particularly in the rural areas, but that neolocal residence is more characteristic of the entire society.

591 When parents grow old, a married son or married daughter
888 [592] can bring them to live in his or her home. A married son may build a house close to his own for his old parents to live in, and would supply them with food and clothing. A man may be required by the Alkali to send food to his old parents, but he is not forced to build a house for them close to his own.

4. The Family.

596 As is evident from the above discussion of postmarital
592 residence, extended families when they do occur among the Kanuri, are exceptional since most frequently postmarital residence is neolocal. At certain times, as when a young married couple live

793 a religious role, but it receives political recognition. There are two Limans in Geidam. One Liman leads prayers on religious holidays, and is called Liman Noumaribe (ngumari means religious festival); the other leads the communal Friday prayers and is called Liman Zomabe (Zoma means Friday). The Liman Ngumaribe conducts prayers twice each year, at the two most important [782] festivals. When Yerima Mustapha became Ajia of Geidam, he instituted the practice of public communal prayers on the dandal each [884] Friday. This is frequently--though not always--done in Kanuri towns, and had not been the customary practice in Geidam when 793 Kaigama had been Ajia. Yerima made inquiries as to who was con- 634 sidered the most respected Malam in Geidam, and appointed that 297 Malam as the Liman Zomabe of Geidam. The new Liman Zomabe was 554 given a kulugu and a burnoose as marks of office. Though the Liman Ngumaribe had previously held his office under Kaigama, Yerima also gave him a kulugu and a burnoose when he came to Geidam.

2. Religious Festivals.

796 The month of Ramadan (April 2 to May 1, in 1957) is spent 785 in fasting. During that time neither food nor water is taken 183 into the mouth from sunrise to sunset. All Kanuri above the [561] age of fifteen or sixteen keep the fast. For several years before that boys and girls keep a modified fast, in which three days of fasting are followed by nine days in which the fast is not observed. In Geidam all Kanuri outwardly keep the fast, al-

GEIDAM

796 though it was admitted that there were Kanuri who drank water
785 in secret. In Maiduguri there are Kanuri who eat openly in
• 183 the market-place during Ramadan, but Geidam is too small a town
[369] for anyone to violate religious custom so blatantly. As Rama-
785 dan in 1957 fell in the hottest and most uncomfortable time of
512 the year, fasting, and in particular abstaining from drinking,
is very demanding. Most people radically alter their schedules.
During Ramadan they customarily rise at 3 A.M. at the call of
a waker, pray and drink something and then remain up doing
their work until sunrise (6 A.M.). They then work for an ad-
ditional two or three hours until the sun is high in the sky,
when they retire to sleep until three or four in the afternoon.
[462] From four until sunset (6:45 P.M.) people again work, and the
women pound and grind millet. At sunset the Ladan calls to an-
[262] nounce the end of the day's fast. People then drink quantities
[272] of a porridge made of millet and soured milk (bəlam). At ten
or eleven in the evening people eat the one hearty meal of the
[517] day. Activities such as visiting, chatting and strolling con-
tinue on into the night. During Ramadan, the entire daily
schedule is shifted so that people sleep through the hottest
hours of the day, work during the cooler periods at sunrise and
at sunset, break the fast with a light meal which is followed
by a heavy meal some hours later, and spend much of the night
in leisure activities. In actual fact little work is accomplished
in this month.

785 As the sun set on Tuesday, April 30th, everyone looked
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554
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Table VII

Present Number of Wives

	0	1	2	3	4	concubines	Mean No. of wives
Aristocracy	-	3	2	-	-	1	1.4
Koranic Malams	-	1	2	-	-	-	1.7
Canteen Traders	-	-	3	1	2	-	2.8
NA Malams	-	3	3	-	-	1	1.5
Kabuna	1	1	4	-	-	-	1.5
Craftsmen	-	4	2	-	-	-	1.3
Talaka	1	7	-	-	-	-	.88
Low-status	1	3	-	-	-	-	.75
Total no.	3	22	16	1	2	2	

that the canteen traders have significantly more wives as a group, while the talaka and the low status individuals have significantly fewer wives. Among the canteen traders are found the only two individuals who have four wives; among the talaka and the low status individuals none have more than one wife and two do not have any.

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The many differences between marrying a kalə yaskə (virgin) and a zogor (divorced woman) have been discussed at some length. Table VIII presents data on the percentage of zogor and kalə yaskə among the present wives of individuals in the sample. Under a (Present Wives) it can be seen that the first four categories have married predominantly kalə yaskəs while the bottom four have overwhelmingly married zogors. The cultural ideal is for a young man to marry a kalə yaskə at his first marriage. Most individuals in each of the eight categories have in fact

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 201]

correct conduct more than any other group in the sample.

785 Turning from the area of Western material goods, several
183 questions were concerned with religious behavior. Inroads af-
178 fecting religious practices can be seen among some very accul-
369 turated Kanuri in Maiduguri. In Geidam, however, there is not sufficient anonymity to permit any serious deviations from religious practices. Thus when asked whether he fasted during the month of Ramadan, every individual in the sample said that he did fast. Another question concerned fasting during a second religious holiday, that of Tsuro Mbulo, when fasting is not mandatory as at Ramadan. Individuals may fast on Tsuro Mbulo if they wish to, for one, two, or three days. It can be seen from Table XXIV that 34 individuals state that they do fast on Tsuro Mbulo, while only 10 do not fast then. Since this is an optional fast day, there are no sanctions against those who do not fast. Nevertheless, there is some shame attached to not fasting. Some who did not fast stated frankly that they were too lazy, or that fasting was difficult. Others stated that they intended to fast in the future; still others claimed that they were too young to fast (though their ages may have been in the late thirties). The ten individuals who do not fast are distributed over a number of groups. In only three groups were
792 there no individuals who ignored the fast of Tsuro Mbulo. These
441 are the Koranic Malams, whom one would expect to adhere closely
554 to strict norms in the area of religious behavior, the Canteen Operators and the Low-status Individuals.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 279]

[GEIDAM]

Table XXIV

12. Religious Behavior: fasting during Tsuro Mbalo.

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	Yes	1 day	2 days	3 days	more	No	too young
Aristocracy	3	-	3	-	-	2*a	-
Koranic Malams	3	1	1	-	1-10 days	-	-
Canteen Operators	6*b	2	3	-	-	-	-
NA Malams	5	2	3	-	-	1	(lazy)
Kabuna	5	-	2	3	-	1	1-age 37
Craftsmen	4	-	1	3	-	2	1-age 37
Talaka	4	-	4	-	-	4	2-age 24; age 25
Low-status Individuals	4	-	1	3	-	-	-
Totals:	34	5	18	9	1	10	4

*a Yerima Mustapha answered that it was too difficult.

*b one of the canteen operators said that he fasted for one or two days.

58 little sweetheart and keep her until he (the informant) was grown adult enough to have her as a wife for himself. Because the bridewealth was in the range of X's family resources, X's parents decided, after having the idea suggested to them by the informant, to obtain the informant's "intended" for their son. Needless to say, they knew nothing of the informant's long term plan to marry the girl eventually himself. When the informant was nineteen or twenty, his little childhood girl friend divorced X and married him. The informant did not know whether X ever managed to marry the girl of his own childhood dreams, but thinks he did.

58 • 183 This rather extreme example is interesting for its illustration of how individuals growing up within a certain social structure can often work out arrangements whereby they skirt round the requirements of their culture, yet manage to maintain the system as a set of rules. The Kanuri recognize that all marriages cannot simply be lasting agreements made between groups of individuals comprised almost entirely of males, especially in Bornu where divorce is so simple and all relationships have a brittle edge.

587 The final stage in independence is reached in the last variety of marriage, nyia kolatabe (marriage of discovery), which by its very nature is confined to non-virgin women. This is the most widespread form of marriage among the population, becoming common after the woman has had her first divorce (or second in some high ranking households). Informants claimed that in this type of marriage, "There is no arrangement, you only meet the woman somewhere and decide to marry her." [171] Some Kanuri equated it with the Hausa tsintuna or propertyless marriage, i.e. where the kin are not involved either in the decision to marry or the exchange of property. There is, however, a bridewealth payment by the husband-to-be which is paid to the woman herself, and the marriage is still solemnized at a sada'ż ceremony as at all weddings.

593 activities. That is to say, culturally speaking, there is an ideology
[129] of male dominance in the husband-wife relationship. This prescription for male superiority was enacted one day by a female entertainer who attempted to teach the anthropologist's wife the proper manner for approaching the presence of a husband. She came in as if bearing food and went down on her knees with her head bowed to one side and eyes downcast, while demurely presenting the offering to her lord and master, and then quietly removing herself. Although this was all performed in a theatrical manner, the attitude of submissiveness was the lesson
233 being taught. Again, although sexual experimentation is highly thought
562 of by some males, it is generally frowned on for the male to assume a position underneath the woman during coitus. This is rationalized by the belief that the semen will run back into the male and "go bad", causing disease, i.e. something bad will result from a male allowing
829 a woman to lie on top of him. This is reminiscent of the claim of one
554 very high ranking Kanuri nobleman who, when discussing apartment buildings in America, disdained this architectural concept as distateful to himself, unless only he and people of equal rank were allowed living quarters on the top floor.

593 The observed facts of interpersonal relations in marriage
183 are enormously various, and a full circle of almost complete conformity to complete denial of the cultural ideal can be seen in almost any Bornu town where there is a representative sample of the various strata of Kanuri society. The following are some of the major variables operating in the marriage relationship which affect the extent of denial or conformity to the ideology of male dominance.

1. Age Differences

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[581]

It is much simpler for the male to exercise control over the behaviour of very young girls, especially the young virgins of nine to thirteen years, when they are first married. This is another reason for the attractiveness of virgin marriage, for in this situation, the cultural ideal of male dominance is most possible. To a lesser extent because of the operation of other factors, large age differences between husband and wife, when the husband is the elder, make his dominant role more accessible. This is due to the general respect given to age in the society and may be one of the reasons behind the value placed upon the union of a man to a woman who is younger than himself.

2. Number of Marriages

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As a woman increases the number of her divorces and experiences progressively more independence and freedom in her zower (divorced woman) status, it becomes more and more difficult for her to assume the submissive role required of her by her culture. As we have seen the amount a male is willing to pay for a woman decreases with the number of her past divorces, for he knows she has not had a past history of long term submission to one man, but rather a series of marriages which were broken by some disagreement between her and her husband. [183] The number of her past divorces indicates her willingness in the past to break the marriage rather than submit to her husband's will or it represents her husband's dissatisfaction with her behaviour, which also points to her inability to conform to the cultural ideal of wifely virtue. Thus the number of divorces a woman has contracted is both a measure of her desire for independence and also a stimulus to the development of more independence, rather than submissiveness.

593 557 [558] wife (non-secluded) is also a productive asset in farming activities. Women are fully aware in every marriage they enter to what extent their husbands are dependent upon them for the maintenance of their socio-economic status in the community, and are fully prepared at all times to manipulate their husbands, using the threat of easy divorce to break down his traditional right of domination and assert their independence within the marriage relationship. This obtains in economically low status households where the man has some difficulty in obtaining enough capital to marry. In its extreme form, given a timid husband with one wife of low status socially and economically, and an independent woman, this variable may create a completely female dominated household. [521] [837] Other men tend to gossip about such marriages speaking of them as ridiculous jokes upon the poor, weak husband and scandalous, shameful behaviour on the part of the wife who usually includes open sexual freedom as a part of her dominant position. When questioned about such marriages, however, informants adopt a somewhat fatalistic attitude and comment that there is nothing the unfortunate man can do, since he needs a wife so badly and has not the necessary economic power available to him to assert his rights. [183] Thus the cultural pattern of male dominance must be supported by real social instruments; if the male's status is overly dependent upon his wife, it becomes almost impossible for the cultural ideal of female subordination to function properly. 593 565 183 This is why higher ranking males can expect higher accordance with traditional standards on the part of their wives. If they are successful men, then all they wish from their wives is good, proper, ethical conduct, which includes submissiveness. At this level, the married status of the woman requires that she must meet her husband's demands for wifely behaviour or he will get rid of her. The operation

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183 of the above variables make such conformity to cultural patterns extremely difficult among the lower status ranks of the population, i.e., for most of the people.

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562 Closely associated with the above factors, but not directly determinative of male dominance, are the Kanuri patterns of marital fidelity and divorce. Marital chastity is considered an ideal behaviour norm for both men and women, although almost the entire weight of the prescription falls upon the married woman, which is a logical consequence [554] of the cultural ideal of male dominance. Male marital chastity is given only sham acceptance as an ethical standard by most men, except for the most highly moral, such as some religious leaders aspire to, or very respectable judges, or any other person who wishes to set himself up as a paragon of virtue and reap the benefits of status which such a reputation confers.(1)

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[595] Men may marry up to four wives in the Muslim world and because there are always gower (divorced women) in Bornu who are available sexually to men, there are a great deal of extra-marital sexual relations by men which for all intents and purposes are culturally sanctioned. In other words, social reality and every day ethical standards give to men much freedom of sexual behaviour at all times whether or not they are married. This holds true for a bachelor, as it does for a man with one, two, three or four wives. On the other hand, a woman is supposed to turn on and off her sexual freedom in and out of marriage. While married, cultural norms prescribe that she make herself

[829]
[209] (1) The Kanuri believe that strict adherence to all moral injunctions of their culture is so difficult and so rare that any person actually practicing such a life of complete moral integrity is very "powerful." His sanctity is so great as to render his person actually dangerous; so much so, it is related, that even the clothes of such a man have power to inflict good or evil on others.

58 sada'abe) in which a girl is given to a Koranic mallam also entails the mutual understanding of an obligatory subordination by the mallam to the luwali.

Secondly, in marriages of agreement (nyia ardiabe) and discovery (nyia kolatabe), the major arrangements are made between the man and the woman alone without recourse or subordination to a household head. These marriages illustrate the adaptation of marriage arrangements to the realities of Kanuri social life. Given the large population and the high divorce rate it is not possible or feasible for all weddings to function as mechanisms for strengthening and creating superior/subordinate relationships. And so this second variety of marriage arrangement operates because many women, especially as they grow older, are not willing to be pawns used for the purpose of defining relationships between men. By the same token, many men are not willing to become obligated to others through marriage.

593 In the marriage relationship itself, there is a conflict
• 183 between the subordination that most Kanuri men expect of their wives and what they actually experience. It is held that this conflict is due to the woman's ability to subvert the cultural ideal of male dominance through his dependence upon her for much of his own status in
[565] the community. This is less true among the upper classes where the
[586] man is less dependent upon the woman for his status, and at this level there are few divorces.

885 562 described in other terms. The main distinctions for women are, fere (girl), Kamu (woman) and Kamursu (old woman). A woman (kamu) can be given descriptive attributes to place her properly in people's minds. For example, she can be kamu kwanzb mbeji (a woman with a husband, i.e. married), or sanzb ngubu or gana (older or younger). These can be extended to include statuses such as having borne children or not, having an influential family, having a rich husband, being in seclusion and so on.

There is no similar status term among women comparable to the male term rashidi whose meaning also connotes or embodies the ideology of mature behaviour.

The ideal view of the adult female role positively evaluates marriage, durability of marriage, children, obedience to husband, proper and efficient performance of women's tasks, chastity, staying in husband's compound much of the time, and maintaining some contact with her own family as some of the more important goals towards which adult females should strive. In actual practice, women who divorce the least number of times give their unqualified support to the cultural ideal of the female role. On the other hand, woman who divorce easily and frequently tend to qualify their support of the ideal. This contrast is illustrated by the answer to the question, "What would you do if your husband required you to stay always in the compound?" A woman, who had been married to the same man for twenty-five years, answered simply, shi kura fatobe (he is the head of the household), i.e. he is my authoritative superior and I must obey. Contrarily, a woman, who at the age of about thirty-five had married and divorced four times, replied, daji lenyin (then I would go away), i.e. divorce him.

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888 semi-seclusion among upper class women, and expands as the woman grows
565 into old age.
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888 In the case of a man, ideally he reaches the golden part of his life in old age. He is respected. His work is carried on by descendants, and his authority and senior position in a patrilocal extended family organization may have expanded to the point where he is the head of group of households, if his sons and junior brothers remain in or near his compound. At extreme age, with the progressive appearance of infirmity, he relinquishes many of his duties, and serves merely as an adviser who is consulted on most major decisions by his subordinates in the compound organization.

888 The difficulty in the universal realization of this
592 cultural ideal is its functional dependence upon residence patterns
183 for its development. As we have seen the primary determinants in the
[596] structural cohesion of the patrilocal family organization are the elements of power and authority, which the individual householder is able to wield, manipulate and maintain during his active life, in contrast to the total distribution of power and authority in the society.
[565] Thus, as in many other segments of Kanuri culture, the ideal goals are manifestly more attainable among the upper ranks of society than at the lower levels. However, many peasants, due to some mild good fortune which gives them just a slightly higher proportion of economic and/or political power than their dependants, find themselves approaching old age successfully as heads of patrilocal organizations in which they are the respected senior members. Contrarily, it is also considered good and proper behaviour to maintain a role of loyal subordination to a strong extended household organization. Attachment to a senior in the organization leads to expectations of political and

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183 economic security for many men who are unable to achieve the more highly valued position of respected senior member of a compound in their old age.

Inheritance

428 The rules followed in inheritance are those of Maliki law,(1) and these are codified rules upheld in the courts when succession cases [613] are heard. In general property should remain within the agnatic lineage with preference given to seniority or linearity and male sex. The surviving male always receives two parts to every one given to the surviving female of equal relationship to the deceased. A wife is considered when a man has no children. She and her co-wives (if present) are entitled to one-third of the varata (inheritance) of her (their) dead husband, while the remaining two-thirds goes to the agnatic group. Thus, if a man has four wives and no children each is entitled to a fourth of the wife's third, i.e. one-twelfth of the estate. For wives this means in practice only a share of the movables, excluding land-use rights and the household immovables. If there are children a wife is not entitled by law to any of the inheritance, although it is customary to give her a gift of money if she is being [587] sent away from her dead husband's house by the surviving agnates. If none of the male children are her own then she has no longer any living connection with her husband's family unless she marries a brother, which is known but not practised. When a son is very young the closest brothers of the deceased, in order of seniority, get the largest portion of the inheritance and act as father to the surviving children. If a senior brother of the deceased survives him he must

(1) See Rurton F.H., Maliki Law, 1916 (London).

556 teacher said he would wait in the anthropologist's house until the man
571 left so that it would be possible to return to his compound without being accosted by the man and his request. During the conversation that followed, the informant described how he felt somewhat ashamed at not being able to give freely to everyone who asked him for things, but knew that if he did so he would rapidly be reduced to poverty. Besides, he said, giving once leads to expectations in the future of similar generosity both by the receiver and others. He closed the conversation by saying that he thought that this difficulty over gift-giving and generosity versus spendthriftiness and miserliness, was the most difficult problem in Bornu social life.

556 What this means is that the ideal of kore (wise generosity)
• 183 is extremely difficult to achieve for the mass of the population. For the very rich who are able to distribute much wealth to many loyal and potentially loyal followers, this is less problematical. But for the great majority of Bornu society there is a constant conflict between the desire to validate status and raise it on the one hand, and on the other, the necessity to maintain some solvent standard of living for oneself. This points to a great difference between European and Kanuri cultural tradition. In the West it is considered virtuous to save rather than spend, and the individual obtains some satisfaction both internally and through the praise of others for this behaviour. The Kanuri can receive public recognition of high or low status by their use of property both for themselves and others, i.e. consumption.
[454] This has resulted in a positive evaluation of covert or secret savings,
which tends to partially relieve the conflict between status validation
[123] and the necessity of maintaining a standard of living. This is the reason why Kanuri friends were forever telling the author not to reply

556 so openly about his own financial matters and property to the incessant
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[123] questions which were thrown at him. They insisted that this would only lead to a multiplication of requests for gifts of money, clothes, food,
(251) and loans. Again, this is one of the reasons the Kanuri give for having both above and below ground storage pits for food crops. A household head is very reluctant to ever discuss exactly how many storage pits he has in his compound or how much of last year's crops remains uneaten. If this information can be obtained at all, much assurance has to be given that it is to be kept entirely confidential.

But the conflict over the proper consumption of wealth by self or others for status validation is not completely solved by covert
[152] savings. Since the values of the society are, to some extent, always the values of a majority of its individual members, this conflict takes place both in the individual's social and his psychological life, and is in this writer's opinion, one of the main sources of anxiety among the individual members of Kanuri society.

Rural/Urban

369 Although rural or urban status can be changed by residence,
829 there is a differentiation, more sharply made by upper class city dwellers, between "bush" (rural) people and urban dwellers. City people feel themselves to be more "advanced" and sophisticated, better informed, and more socially mobile than the rural population whom the city dwellers consider to be ignorant, dirty and untrustworthy. The rural people make much less distinction between urban and rural residence, although they all know that there are many "wonderful" things in the city, such as the cinema, or the Maiduguri market where goods from all over the world are on sale daily. Another difference noticeable immediately to the

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661 Discipline in the N.A. reflects the operation of Kanuri values and their instrumentation by European standards. For not being loyal, subservient and profitable as a subordinate in the N.A., a man can be punished by adverse reports which refer to his incompetence, his [183] laziness, his dishonesty, or some particular bungle on his part. The formal reason given for disciplinary action is derived always from the European standards of public service morality, and the real reason generally has to do with superior/subordinate relationships within the N.A. Thus the cause given by local gossip in Bornu for the "purge" of N.A. officials which took place in 1956, all have to do with relations between superiors and subordinates. One explanation deals with the jealousy and rivalry between the Treasurer and the Assistant Treasurer, the other and more widely told story alludes to the difficulties between the Bornu Treasurer and the Wakil (chief follower) of his extended household organization. None of the local rumours attributed the cause of the trials (which led to many jail sentences and dismissals) to the fact of corruption in the civil service. Since British public service morality has been written into law in Nigeria, this method of discipline and pressure, although more easily invoked in the colonial situation, because of the arousable indignation of the local British officers will undoubtedly endure after the country obtains its independence. [671]

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Political Parties

665 In contemporary Bornu modern political parties link Bornu to the Northern Region and the Federal Union of Nigeria. Constituted authority, the DH's, Lawans, the judges, the higher officials of the N.A. and all their followers support the N.P.C. (Northern Peoples Congress) which represents similar interests in other provinces of the North. It also forms the majority party in the Nigerian Federal gov-

602 overlapping areas of norms of behavior, each of which includes kin and
571 non-kin relationships. These are, namely, shame-avoidance (nungu), dis-
[183] cipline-respect (bèrzum), joking (suli), and friendship (numkam). The mutual expectations accompanying these norms of behavior are the "warp and woof" of Kanuri interpersonal relations. Or to put it another way, they are the building blocks upon which the Kanuri social structure maintains itself as an ongoing system.

This is especially true of the bèrzum relationship. The Kanuri social structure is hierarchical and feudal, and in order to accomplish the tasks necessary to any human society within this kind of organizational framework, the Kanuri require a multitude of diffuse social relations arranged into chains of superior/subordinate relationships. The rules governing behavior within these superior/subordinate relations are encompassed by the concept or norms of bèrzum and thus this particular set of mutual expectations is of central importance to the perpetuation of Kanuri society in its present form.

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591 Some of the dynamics of interpersonal relations are apparent in the residence patterns. Because a social structure is placed in time, birth, maturation and death continually create changes in personnel, as well as in their roles and aspirations. As we have seen, this can affect Kanuri residence associations in two ways. A man may desire to set up his own household and thus hive off from the patrilocal residence to
[592] initiate a residence group under his own direction. Again, a father or senior man of the patrilocal compound may die, leaving a group of siblings under the direction of a senior sibling. This also tends through time to break up into smaller residence units which are on the way potentially to becoming patrilocal extended households.

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592 These structural features are in their turn functions of

593 In the marriage relationship itself there is a conflict
183 between what most Kanuri men expect of their wives - that is to say, subordination - and what they actually experience. It is held that this conflict is due to the woman's ability to subvert the cultural ideal of male dominance through his dependence upon her for much of
[565] his own status in the community. This is less true among the upper
[586] classes where the man is less dependent upon the woman for his status, and at this level there are fewer divorces.

571 The discussion of the Kanuri life cycle along with the material on kinship and marriage has been designed to give a description on interpersonal relations. Although the whole fabric of Kanuri society operates at once, the large scaled structural features of the society are linked behaviourally by these patterns of interpersonal relations. At the level of social stratification, political and economic organization, the organizational patterns of the total society must be seen as operating through and with the modes of interpersonal relations.

561 In the life cycle, we have seen how age statuses are only roughly correlated with the physiological phases of growth, maturity and decline. They are more precisely defined in terms of sequences of skills to be learned and tests to be passed during the lives of individuals.

858 During the first eighteen months of life the infant (tiful) is introduced into the company of its family within the context of Kanuri culture. This period sets in motion the learning experiences which guide the new member into full adult participation in the society. Until the end of the tiful stage the individual is treated gently and permissively, and socialization pressure is at a minimum. The tiful

000 at any particular point in time.

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183 People are also ranked in terms of their wealth and the manner in which they use their material resources. There is a conflict between consumption of wealth for subsistence purposes and for the creation and maintenance of social relationships. This is only partially resolved by covert savings because the competition between subsistence needs and the high value placed upon generosity are irreconcilable in practice, given the low standard of living in the area.

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554 In the society as a whole, people are differentiated as to whether or not they are rural or urban. This distinction is more sharply made by upper class city dwellers, since lower class urban dwellers have many ties which connect them to the rural areas as well as to the newly expanded cities.

565 Lower and higher statuses are generally co-ordinated into two broad segments or classes of the society. These large segments are characterized by many cultural features of dress, language, etiquette, house-type and so on. These features create the possibility of simulation of upper class membership by upwardly aspiring lower class individuals. Individuals can imitate these cultural concomitants to give the impression of more or less membership in a class. And this 'more or less' quality turns the segmentary aspect of class into a status dimension along which people can be ranked.

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829 Permeating all of the social stratification and perhaps helping to fuse the various segments is a cultural ideology concerning the nature of success. Kanuri culture contains a theory of society and its causes, all of which is embodied in the concept arziyi. The theory explains to the people, both the structure of society and mobility

441 452 the extended household organization of Alkali-Bukar -otherwise Ajimi could not have got into trade.

Thus attempts to set up direct contacts with bush retailers and wholesalers, and thus reduce the number of middlemen, by the big Companies is probably doomed to failure. For these bush traders will simply use the credit gained, to set up or expand extended household organizations for trading. Only when the populations as a whole can afford to buy more expensive consumption items, and spend more per person generally, will there be a need for large stores of goods and less need of the multitude of middlemen now present in the social structure.

178 571 [177] The social changes brought about by the colonial administration and the concomitant economic development of the Bornu area have been already treated above. What remains to be considered is the nature of stability and instability in Kanuri society as a whole. The question can be asked in this way; given the nature of the Kanuri social system, what conditions are necessary to its perpetuation in a similar form to that described in the study?

183 571 The basic prerequisites for the present structure of Kanuri society are its behavioural norms. Indeed this is a partially tautological statement, for the structure of Kanuri society is the organized use of the behaviour norms in its various social structures. These structures running from small to large scale focus on the various tasks necessary to the perpetuation of social life in Bornu. In the family compound, the local and Emirate political units, the social relations of the individual in the consumption, production and distribution of goods and services, the norms of interpersonal relations give stability to Kanuri society.

182 But these norms are in turn dependent upon other phenomenon
183 in the society. Child training practices and the conditions under
571 which they occur teach recruits to the society how to operate in the adult world. The political and economic structure ensure that proper
178 bərzum relations are rewarded. Changes in these phenomenon will pro-
571 duce changes in the overall structure of society, and we have seen cer-
[555] tain changes already occurring. Thus western education is becoming more important as a means of upward mobility into the highly ranked civil
[156] service and this change in recruitment practices will continue. This is bound to produce personal conflicts for those who are subjected to the conflicting goals and standards of the two systems of socialization, which could manifest itself in a western trained group of reformers setting up pressure for change in the society.

Urbanization which has been increasing in the past twenty years will continue to do so in the near future. Norms of living are expanding to include more goods from the outside world. This is being constantly stimulated by improved channels of communication and transportation. The future of the present structure of Kanuri society is clearly dependent upon whether or not its political and economic organization can be maintained in the face of these ongoing changes as they accumulate through time.

178 Another way to think about the stability of Kanuri society
565 is to consider the possibility of class conflict. If such conflict is
578 possible, then a different kind of structure can emerge relative to the present. At the moment it is hierarchical segments which are often in opposition to one another. Class conflict sets up solidary or cohesive tendencies among horizontal strata of society and results in the opposition of segments containing relatively equal ranks.